

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

BROWNSON ON THE GREAT REBELLION.
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IV. THE GREAT REBELLION. D. & J. Sadler & Co.

The leading issues between the people of the United States and the leaders of the Southern Rebellion are stated and commented on, with not a little force, in the number just issued of Browson's Quarterly Review. No one can suspect that eminent publicist of undue sectional partialities; he has never betrayed a disposition to favor the North at the expense of the Union. What, then, is the true ground of complaint on the part of the rebels?

A careful reading of these official declarations, in connection with well-known facts, proves that the only grievance the South has to complain of in us of the non-Slaveholding States is, that we are not charmed with the beauties of the slave system; that we do not regard Slavery as a Christian institution existing by divine right; that, in fact, we dislike Slavery, that we detest it, and take the liberty to say so. Here is the head and front of our offending. But even in this respect we only retain and express the views and feelings entertained and expressed, till quite recently, by the prominent statesmen and leading men of the Slaveholding States themselves. It amounts, then, to this, that the people of the Slaveholding States have rebelled against the Federal Government because the majority of the people of the non-Slaveholding States differ with them in opinion on the subject of Slavery, and insist upon treating black men, as well as white men, as belonging to the human family; in a word, as men created with rational and immortal souls, and redeemed by the Passion and Death of our Lord; because, in fact, we include them in the great brotherhood of humanity. This is their *izyane* for which they have seen proper to rebel against the Federal Government, and attempt to efface from the map of the world the Great Republic of the United States.

The actual character of the war, as conducted by the United States, is tersely presented in the following paragraph:

The Federal Government, in the present war, is not waging against any State, or seeking to coerce any State, as such, to submission; for no State, as a whole, withdrawn or could withdraw from the Union, is in any nation of the people of any State to withdraw itself would exceed the constitutional right of the State, and be a simple usurpation of power. No State has ever, for no State, by the Constitution of the United States or by its own Constitution, could do so.

The so-called Confederate States of America have, therefore, no legitimate authority either within the States themselves or against the Union.

The Southern Confederacy is simply a league of conspirators and rebels. The Federal Government in making war against them, therefore, only makes war in its own defense, and in vindication of the constitutional rights of the several States; and in doing it, it is only performing its own impartial and constitutional duties. The war is not a war between the North and the South, between the Free and the Slaveholding States, or against slavery; but is, on the part of the Government, simply a war against traitors and rebels to the States and the Union.

The position of the leaders of the rebellion is stated with admirable precision.

For thirty years or more the South have been taught to regard the North as their enemies, and made to believe that they could not live in peace with us; they have been taught that we of the Free States are mere money-makers, destitute of any high moral or religious principle, selfish, calculating, cold-hearted, and worse than all, mere cowards. Their teaching has been bad, and has led them into grave mistakes. They knew perfectly well that Slavery could not long exist in a country unless it were controlling interest. It can flourish only so long as it governs, and must die out when the supremacy passes from its hands. Hence these States made at first a desperate struggle through the Northern Democracy, which almost from the origin of the Government had allied with them, to retain their supremacy. They made afterward a still more desperate struggle to change the opinions of the North with regard to Slavery itself. But, failing in both attempts, and seeing that power must pass from their hands, and henceforth be wielded by a party that would not consent to be governed by the interests of the capital invested in slaves, they "left" that party of their own institution, and with it, their confederacy, and formed their own legitimate Government, whose only object, if effect it have, is that it claims too little power for itself, and leaves too much freedom to the rest. The American citizen who seeks to overthrow the American Government is not only a traitor, but a felon, i.e., a dismembered monster not fit to live or inhabit any part of this globe; he has no excuse for this life of hell.

The effect of this contest will not be without instruction to the people of the South.

We fear no longer the ultimate victory of the Union; we feel that the time is near when it will be, and we are much stronger and more beloved than the South will come to know the North better and to entertain for it a much higher esteem. It will teach that all the chivalry of the Union is not confined to the Slaveholding States. It will find that, if the people of the North are an industrious and business people, they are principles and not lies, loath to believe in the necessity of war, and slow to engage in a fight, it is from no lack of the sense of honor, from no deficiency of courage, or want of pluck. It will learn, we doubt not, that the people of the Free States, though they can bear much, are not all-sustaining; that with them even there is a point where forbearance ceases to be a virtue, and that they can give as well as receive blows. It will learn, perhaps to its cost, that there is as much high spirit, gentlemanly feeling, chivalry and sentiment, and more daring, among our farmers, mechanics, merchants, shopkeepers, and cotton-pickers, among its own slave-owners, nigger-drivers, and claysters. It will learn that the estimate of our character has been founded on narrow and prejudiced views; and that they can give as well as receive blows. To this end, let us hope, will come the final triumph of the Free States over the Slaveholding States.

The South, then, has appealed from ballots to bullets. They have forced an issue upon the North, which should be accepted with slavery. The war must come a moment too soon. We cannot shrink from the contest, without standing branded in history as the most miserable cravens and dastards that have ever disgraced the annals of the world.

In this war the United States are in the right and the Southern Rebels wholly in the wrong. The rebels, by all of their Democratic friends in the non-slaveholding States, have had the administration of the Government, have shaped its general policy at home and abroad, and wielded its patronage, with hardly an interval of time, since the inauguration of Mr. Jefferson in 1801. They have had almost everything on their own way. They have had no wrongs from the Government, and no grievances from the North to complain of. The Federal Government has, from the first, faithfully performed all its duties with regard to the question of slavery. It has fully protected the rights of the slave-owner, and has enacted and enforced the most stringent and offensive laws in his favor. The Southern section of the Union has had far more than its share of influence in the Army and Navy, as well as of the diplomatic representatives of the Government, defeated and annihilated the rebellious forces arrayed against it, preserved it, and caused once more its time-honored flag to float in the breeze from the capital of every State in the Union, it will feel that we are not only its friends, but people that they may well be proud to own, love, and respect, as their friends and countrymen. For it is from us to ourselves the fine qualities of the Southern people, their frankness, their spirit, their generosity, and their hospitality; but they will be taught before the end of this war that the reason of the North is equal to ours, and that we are, when known, will probably prove equally attractive.

What will be the consequences in regard to Slavery, Mr. Brownson does not venture to anticipate, but he is very decided against the interference of the United States troops in case of negro insurrections.

What will be the final effect of the contest on the slave question, we pretend not to predict. Notably has he engaged in the war with the intention of putting an immediate end to Slavery; all who have respected the call of the President and buckled on their armor, have done so to vindicate the Constitution, to enforce the prevailing laws, and to preserve the Union. But if the rebels prove themselves able to postpone the struggle and to gain some victories, if they carry on the war in the manner indicated by the masters of the Southern rebellion—Ellsworth, and large numbers of our fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons, fall, and the passions of the non-Slaveholding States become roused and excited to Slavery must go, and the war will be in effect a war of liberation. We, for ourselves, can not this result, for we see not what insurrections, or civil wars of the slaves, were anticipated. But that is all that we think to be possible.

Now this is the great result required by the election of Mr. Lincoln: it is nothing more than this, but it is all this: it is prudence in the present, and it is also the certainty of success in the future. Financialization is by no means desired; it will not be for a long time, perhaps, yet the principle of emancipation is established, previously established in the sight of all. Irreversibility has prodigious power over our minds; without being conscious of it, we make way for it; we change, in view of it, our conduct, our plans, and even our doctrines. Once fully convinced of a certain truth, it will be impossible to extirpate it, unless it becomes too costly to do so. The South will be compelled to extend its dominion, and its dominion will be greatly increased, till it reaches the Atlantic ocean. The Southern Republic will be in a position to go to great lengths, and to stick very low. Moral maxims and written laws are the tools under foot, a strong written or remote regime, astringent of life and death. Social passions easily acquire a degree of power which political parties do not possess; the former are with us, and the latter are with them; they will be satisfied, cost what it may; triumph is in their eyes an absolute, an inexorable necessity. Rather than conquer, they will rend the country.

The master is indeed a more complicated and difficult task than generally imagined. Should we be ignorant enough to meddle with it, we might easily be blinded. Here, summary proceedings are evidently unavoidable. This and the spirit of Chivalry must do their work by degrees; they will do it, sure, provided the evil be circumlocuted, provided the seat of the conflagration be removed, and prevented far enough from spreading further.

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